HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Tries to Hide Administration's Failures

Clark Clifford Distorts Nuclear Picture

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford held a press conference on Oct. 25, 1968 in which he made statements about American nuclear power which are so misleading and inaccurate as to constitute a fraud and a deception on the American people. In order to help elect Hubert Humphrey, Clifford used false figures to cover up the failure of the present Administration to keep ahead of the Soviets in nuclear striking power. Clifford tried to elect Humphrey with the same big lie that Robert McNamara used to elect Lyndon Johnson in 1964. The credibility gap in Washington is now the widest it has ever been.

Clifford said that the United States has a 4-to-1 lead over the Soviets in deliverable nuclear weapons. He claimed that the U.S. has 4,206 and the Soviets have 1,200 nuclear weapons. These figures are false. The true figures prove that the great lead America had under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has vanished.

Clifford said that the U.S. has 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missiles and the Soviets have 900. The U.S. figure is right, but the Soviet figure is wrong. In fact, the Soviets now have 1,100 ICBMs. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara admitted on Jan. 22, 1968, that the Soviets had 720 ICBMs on Oct. 1, 1967, and that they were building ICBMs at the rate of 380 per year. This means they have 1,100 today compared with our 1,054.

Thus, if we compare the *numbers* of land-based ICBMs, the ratio would be 1 to 1, excluding re-fire capability, which McNamara admitted the Soviets have but we do not. However, Clifford did not tell the American people the truth that the Soviet ICBMs are *10 times* more powerful than ours. (See House Armed Services Committee Report, "The Changing Strategic Military Balance," July 1967; also, *U.S. News & World Report*, Feb. 26, 1968, page 85.) Thus, based on megatonnage deliverable by missiles (still excluding re-fire capability), the ratio is 10 to 1 in favor of the Soviets.

Mrs. Schlafly is a highly respected lecturer and author who specializes in topics dealing with nuclear strategy. This article was taken from the text of a speech she gave October 30 in Quincy, Ill.

A smiling Defense Secretary Clark Clifford held an October 25 news conference in which he attempted to show that the United States still enjoys a massive superiority over the USSR in nuclear weapons. But even Clifford acknowledged the Soviets were catching up.

The U.S. used to have many more missiles with greater megatonnage, but McNamara scrapped three-fourths of the multi-megaton missiles built by the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration; namely, 126 Atlas and 54 Titan missiles.

Furthermore, Clifford neglected to tell the American people that the Soviets have an operational anti-missile defense and the U.S. has none. Therefore, when we compare missile power and anti-missile defenses, the advantage in favor of the Soviets would rise even higher than 10 to 1.

Clifford also failed to tell the American people that the Soviets have 750 intermediate and medium-range missiles, targeted at the cities of our NATO allies, while McNamara scrapped 105 Thor and Jupiter missiles we had in England, Italy and Turkey, targeted at Soviet cities.

Clifford also failed to tell the American people that McNamara conceded on Nov. 3, 1967, that the Soviets have an orbital weapon (the FOBS) which can be deorbited on radio command and strike us with zero warning. The U.S. neither has any defense against the Soviet orbital weapon, nor any orbital weapons of our own.

Clifford said that the U.S. has 656 submarine-based strategic missiles and the Soviets have only 80. The U.S. figures are only partially right, as only about half of our Polaris submarines are on station at one time. The Soviet figure is wrong. Clifford simply did not count another 240 Soviet cruise and ballistic missiles because the cruise missiles have a range of only 300 to 500 miles and must be fired from the surface. But Soviet cruise missiles do not need long range because so many major U.S. cities and defense installations are along our three coasts; and, if the Soviets strike first and at night, they do not need to launch submerged.

Clifford tried to smother his misleading statistics by announcing with great fanfare that he has ordered the Navy to develop a new electric-drive "quiet" nuclear submarine. The trouble with this announcement is that it is years after it was recommended by Adm. Hyman Rickover. On Sept. 23, 1968, the Senate Preparedness Investigation subcommittee reported: "The U.S. is substantially inferior to the Soviet Union in terms of numbers of operational submarines."

Clifford said that the U.S. has 646 strategic bombers and the Soviets have only 155. He then apparently allocates about four nuclear weapons to each U.S. bomber and two nuclear weapons to each Soviet bomber.

Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, we had 2,710 strategic bombers (including 1,400 B-47s operating from advanced bases and 600 carrier-based nuclear-armed bombers). McNamara scrapped three-fourths of our stra-

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Will Allies Hold West Berlin?

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Stopping Strikes by Public Employes

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Capital Briefs

● Following the "Black Power" demonstrations during the first week of the Olympics in Mexico City, Americans could take pride in the actions of U.S. Olympic boxing coach **Robert (Pappy) Gault**, a Washington, D.C., native. First Gault insisted that International Olympic Committee Chairman Avery Brundage—an anathema to the black powerites—present the U.S. fighters with their medals, then he had heavyweight gold medal winner George Foreman wave an American flag at the moment of his triumph. "The only power we want," said Gault, who, by the way, is a Nixon supporter, "is United States power."

● In the final weeks of the campaign, reporters were looking into widespread stories that the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** had been ordered to dig into the past of a number of electors in various states. Such information, it is contended, could be used to pressure electors into voting a certain way.

● If Richard Nixon loses **New York**, many will lay the blame on the state's three Liberal Musketeers: Rocky, Javits and Lindsay. Rocky and his people, say insiders, have been giving only token backing to the national ticket; ditto with Javits, who recently refused to repudiate full-page ads on his behalf suggesting that New Yorkers should vote for both Javits and Humphrey; Lindsay's inability to deal with the city's massive problems is also taking its toll on Nixon, since many New Yorkers are blaming the situation on the Republican party. One other factor working against Nixon: the refusal of the New York Republicans to permit a joint slate of GOP-Conservative party electors for Nixon.

● Some conservatives have been requesting Nixon to put former New York Gov. **Tom Dewey** into either the secretary of state post or the attorney general slot. Although not a conservative on economic matters, Dewey, now 66, won a nationwide reputation as a "crime-buster" when he was a special prosecutor in New York. Dewey's views on foreign affairs are also considered very "hard line."

● Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen has revealed that LBJ rejected one distinguished jurist for the Supreme Court because of his religion. Dirksen said that earlier this year Johnson called him to the White House to discuss a successor to Earl Warren. "I brought up the name of U.S. District Court Judge **William J. Campbell** and the President said, 'Very good, he's a friend of mine. . . . But wait a minute. Isn't he Catholic?' and I said yes, and the President said, 'Well, Justice Brennan is a Catholic and I don't want to change the present ratio on the court.'"

● A top strategist at the Democratic National Committee expressed the view, a week before the election, that "**George Wallace** saved the House for us." Wallace's entry into the race, he explained, made it impossible for Nixon to score a landslide victory of the type that Ike racked up. "By splitting the 'protest' vote, Wallace not only helped Humphrey but greatly lessened Nixon's 'coattail power.'"

● U.S. Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** has reportedly devised a revolutionary new approach to curbing crime in the streets of the Nation's Capital: widening the sidewalks.

● The *Washington Post* has been insisting that Richard Nixon has misquoted Commissioner of Education **Harold Howe** when he says that Howe believes the "primary purpose of building schools in the United States should be for the purpose of promoting social and economic integration." Nixon, however, not the Post, is correct. In "The Human Frontier," a collection of Howe's speeches put out by the Office of Education in 1966, Howe is quoted as saying that new schools should be built so as to "break up, rather than continue, segregation of both the racial and economic sort. The Office of Education will provide federal planning funds for such efforts right now and, if I have my way, the office will provide construction funds before long."

● Hubert Humphrey's tax-paid aides are using the vice president's official stationery to promote his bid for the presidency. An estimated **40,000 letters** were sent by Humphrey's personal staff asking his "friends" to contact their friends and urge them to vote November 5—"hopefully" for HHH. The letters suggested that recipients use their Christmas lists to solicit support for Humphrey.

● By January 1, nearly **one million New Yorkers** are expected to be on the welfare rolls—one out of every eight residents in the nation's largest city. Welfare cases are climbing at a monthly rate of 20,000 in Mayor Lindsay's Fun City.

● One **Olympic protest** which received remarkably little attention in the U.S. press was that of Czechoslovakia's Vera Caslavska, who won a record four individual gold medals in gymnastics. Twice Miss Caslavska gave silent protest against the Russian invasion of her homeland by casting her head downward as the Soviet national anthem was played at award ceremonies.

● For what it's worth department: Humphrey campaign manager **Larry O'Brien** insists that the election will be tossed into the House, with Humphrey picking up 200 electoral votes. Odds are, however, that Nixon will win the election outright.

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LBJ's Eleventh-Hour Move

The suspicion will not die down that LBJ's decision to halt the bombing of North Viet Nam is a cynical and desperate last-minute maneuver on Johnson's part to bail Hubert Humphrey out of a jam. While men of good will everywhere fervently hope the President's announcement will lead to an honorable peace, the evidence strongly suggests otherwise.

Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa), ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, bluntly stated: "We've been wondering if this wouldn't happen on the eve of the election for political pur-

TOWER

HICKENLOOPER

poses and now it has." Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), a member of the Armed Forces Committee, remarked: "Very recently Gen. [Creighton] Abrams stated that an unconditional cessation of the bombing would 'permit the enemy to increase his capability several fold in 10 days' and further that he 'would be forced to withdraw our men' from various areas because 'they could no longer stand their ground.'

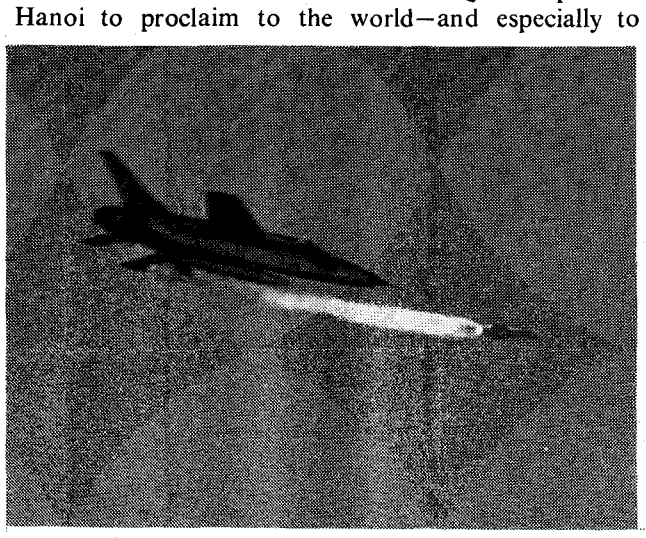
"I believe," Tower went on, "it is incumbent on the President to assure us that circumstances have changed to the extent that Gen. Abrams' contention is no longer valid. I think some explanation should be given to the timing of the announcement, and that negotiations would begin one day after the election."

Nor were these ruminations confined to Republican partisans. A number of high-ranking South Koreans, who have 50,000 soldiers in Viet Nam, said the bombing halt was regrettable. Spokesmen for the Nationalist Chinese government stated they saw the move as an attempt to help Humphrey defeat Nixon.

For several months, it is pointed out, the Administration has been arguing that concrete concessions would have to be made by North Viet Nam for the United States to forego the bombing. Yet the President's decision, it is argued, was finally made without any firm agreement whatsoever from Hanoi.

One high U.S. official said that it would be inadvisable to say that the United States has invoked conditions or obtained concessions. Nor, he said, would he say there is even an agreement; instead, he used the term "understanding." Indeed, as described by some, Johnson appears to have arrived at his decision for a unilateral bomb halt through some mystical Oriental rite, such as reading tea leaves.

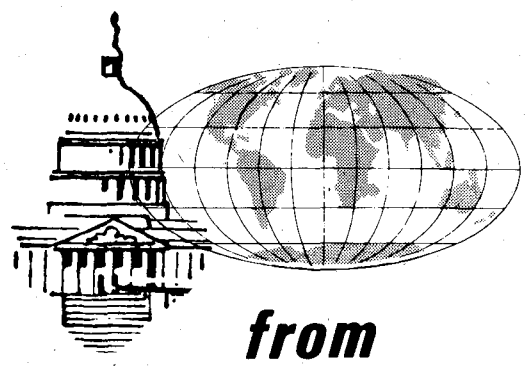
Along these lines, Richard H. Boyce of Scripps-Howard stated: "The entire context of his speech indicated the President had received no firm assurances from Hanoi. . . . The situation thus permits Hanoi to proclaim to the world—and especially to



Communist China—that the U.S. halted the bombing without exacting any real conditions from North Viet Nam."

The Johnson statement, furthermore, was infused with diplomatic doubletalk. "We have reached the stage," he insisted, "where productive talks can begin. We have made it clear to the other side that such talks cannot continue if they take mili-

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

tary advantage of them. We cannot have productive talks in an atmosphere where the cities are being shelled and where the demilitarized zone is being abused."

Even as he was preparing his statement, however, the Viet Cong were shelling the city of Saigon, treacherously murdering 19 persons and injuring 64 others. How in the world, it is being asked, can our Asian allies believe that we have any assurances from Hanoi on anything in the wake of such an event?

Moreover, diplomatic experts point out that when LBJ says Hanoi can't take "military advantage" of our bombing halt or "abuse" the demilitarized zone, he means something far different from what the public would normally think.

As Defense Secretary Clark Clifford explained to the Senate Armed Services Committee last January 25, the San Antonio formula, which incorporated similar language, still meant that we would halt the northern bombing even if the North Vietnamese continued "to transport the *normal* amount of goods, munitions and men to South Viet Nam" (emphasis added).

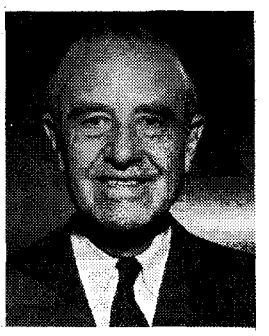
Equally as disturbing as all this is the fact that while we may have greatly pleased North Viet Nam with a halt in the bombing, we have obviously thoroughly alienated the government we are trying to save from a Communist takeover. Both President Thieu and Vice President Ky of South Viet Nam have sharply criticized what Thieu has termed a "unilateral" decision by the United States to stop the northern bombing.

Along with many U.S. military men, both are known to believe that the halt will only give the Viet Cong a vitally needed period for recuperation. They feel, further, that the United States hardly received the better part of the bargain if it exchanged its right to bomb for the right of South Viet Nam to sit at the bargaining table. South Viet Nam's right to sit at the table, they stress, should never have been in question.

Meanwhile, of course, the fighting in the south continues, but Hanoi—the main enemy—remains spared. Maybe, it is hoped, there is more behind the bombing halt than appears on the surface, but as of last week the Johnson decision—appropriately taken on Halloween—looked for all the world like one last grand political ploy.

The Appeasement Artists

One reason hard-liners have no particular faith in the Viet Nam negotiations is that two of the key U.S. diplomats involved—W. Averell Harriman and Ellsworth Bunker—have a reputation for appeasing the Reds.



HARRIMAN

Harriman, America's chief negotiator in Paris, is known as the "coalition man," for it was he, they recall, who was the chief architect of the 1962 coalition government in Laos, an agreement that even Secretary of State Dean Rusk has repudiated as a gross failure. The inspection commission agreed to by Harriman for supervising the Laotian government had only "investigatory" powers and the pro-Communist element was given a veto over any decision to activate the commission.

A strong supporter of Humphrey, Harriman has long been partial toward coalitions. In 1946, after it was clear that Stalin, in violation of pledges made at Yalta, had established totalitarian regimes in Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, Harriman urged the free Rumanians to join a Rumanian coalition government similar to the one Harriman prescribed for Laos. The free Rumanians expressed misgivings, but under Harriman's prodding they joined—with tragedy the inevitable result. In 1951 Juliu Maniu, a revered Rumanian leader who had warned Harriman the Communists would not respect the rights of free Rumanians, was reported to have died in prison, a martyr to his country's freedom.

The track record of Bunker, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, is somewhat better, but Bunker has also had his soft spots. Indeed, when Bunker was selected ambassador in 1967, the Washington Post thought it detected a "subtle shift in American policy" toward the mushy side and quoted one well-placed Vietnamese official to the effect that Bunker would "adopt a more flexible attitude toward the Communists."

A coddler of neutralist Nehru when he was ambassador to India years ago, Bunker devised the formula in 1962 which wrested West New Guinea from Dutch control and handed it over to a Sukarno-ruled Indonesia. Bunker offered his plan in the face of outspoken alarm by native Papuan tribes who had a healthy fear of Sukarno's dictatorship.

Bunker's proposal to have the Dutch cede West New Guinea, which the Dutch accepted only after massive American pressure, represented such obvious obeisance to Sukarno's imperialist demands and military threats that the proposal rapidly became known in New Guinea as the *Bongkar* plan (from the Indonesian word meaning to burglarize). Papuan leaders were so upset by Bunker's actions they sent telegrams to President Kennedy pleading not to be left to Sukarno's mercy.

Bunker also played a mischievous role in Yemen in which the royalists, supported with supplies furnished by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, were warring with left-wing rebels, backed up by 50,000 Egyptian troops. Under the 1965 Jiddah agreement worked out by Bunker, Faisal was to stop sending supplies to the royalists if Nasser would withdraw his army. Faisal lived up to his end of the bargain, but Nasser didn't.

Now, of course, Bunker has been pressuring the South Vietnamese government into accepting U.S. concessions to Hanoi. Thus there is not much hope along Diplomatic Row that the Harriman-Bunker team is going to drive a hard bargain for the United States in connection with the war in Viet Nam.

Amazing NATO Spy Scandals

The deep penetration by the Communists of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) continues to scandalize the Western world. As the incredible facts have unfolded, Italian, German, French, Turkish and Belgian officials have all been implicated in massive spying for the Soviets, while

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sources close to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) say that American officials may also be involved.

Last week the West was again shocked by an amazing tale of the almost casual way in which NATO employes had actually managed to steal a strategic Sidewinder missile from an Allied base in Western Germany.

Detailing the operation that could have been copied from a Maxwell Smart script, West German federal prosecutor Ludwig Martin revealed that three men last year had parked a wheelbarrow outside a NATO air base at Neuburg on the Danube River in Bavaria. While a "Mister X" waited outside, the two others—identified as Wolf Diethard Knope, a 33-year-old flight sergeant and West German Air Force pilot, and Joseph Linowski, a mechanic who was born in Poland—climbed a fence and hauled the nine-foot, six-inch air-to-air missile out through a hole cut in the barbed wire.

When they discovered that the missile would not fit into their waiting car, they smashed the rear window and covered the exposed nose with a carpet. After reaching their destination, they dismantled the rocket, boxed it in a special suitcase and sent it by air freight to Moscow.

While some U.S. officials have been trying to play down the importance of the theft, others point out that the Sidewinder is one of the principal air-to-air weapons for both the U.S. Navy and the Air Force and has been supplied to the air forces of European allies and to Japan and Nationalist China as well. Moreover, the stolen missile was in perfect condition and the Soviets could unquestionably learn much from having it in their possession.

The Sidewinder robbery, furthermore, was not the only successful venture of these three men. In April 1967, Martin told the press, the same trio stole an "LM-3 navigation device" from the same base, once again trundling it off in a wheelbarrow. The device reached Moscow as "tourist luggage." Early in the year, Martin continued, they also carried off "a newly developed navigation device" from the display of a West German concern at the Hanover fair. That, too, was delivered to Moscow.

The prosecutor's report was set against the background of such recent episodes as the escape of six suspected agents to East Germany, three apparent suicides, including that of an admiral, and the arrest of four suspected agents, including those accused of stealing the Sidewinder. And the really disturbing note is that many in a position to know believe that only the surface has been scratched.

Our Man at NATO

As NATO continues to deteriorate drastically, conservatives in Washington think that LBJ ought to quickly fire Harlan Cleveland as U.S. ambassador to the anti-Communist organization. Cleveland represents the type of thinking that has vastly contributed to NATO's decline.

CLEVELAND

Under Cleveland's ambassadorship, the United States has approved a NATO report claiming that the Soviet program of "peaceful coexistence" has "changed the nature" of the East-West confrontation and that each ally "should play its full part in promoting an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe."

Judging from the explosive brief filed by Otto Otepka before the State Department and the Civil Service Commission, Cleveland also has little regard for tough security measures.

As assistant secretary of state for International Organizational Affairs in 1962, for example, he had recommended Irving Swerdlow for a position in the State Department despite the fact that—according to the Otepka brief—Swerdlow had "been dismissed as a security risk by the Mutual Security Agency, and that the top security officer in the agency had commented that 'Swerdlow's security file was one of the rottenest he had ever seen.' "

Cleveland not only persuaded the department to appoint Swerdlow anyway, but he then apparently began to ask if it would be possible for the government to re-employ Alger Hiss, despite Hiss' perjury conviction for denying a role in a Soviet espionage ring.

In late 1962, the brief relates, Cleveland personally selected eight members of an Advisory Committee on International Organizations and then demanded that normal security procedures be waived on each of them. Otepka objected, primarily because three proposed members were men who had served on the personal staff of Alger Hiss and were convinced that Hiss wasn't even a security risk.

The advisory committee was established with Cleveland's selections anyway, and came up with a draft report recommending the scrapping of security procedures for American employes at the United Nations. Otepka claimed this draft version, which he later helped to scuttle, coincided with views of both Hiss, and one Leonard B. Boudin, an extreme leftist who at that time was receiving legal fees from Fidel Castro.

For all these reasons—and more—LBJ, it is believed, should put Cleveland out to pasture.

CORRECTION

We regret that the issue date at the bottom of pages 10 through 15 of the Nov. 2, 1968 issue appeared as 1967. The dates should have read Nov. 2, 1968.

The Times' Attack On Agnew

The New York *Times*' eleventh-hour campaign attack against GOP vice presidential nominee Spiro T. Agnew appears to have badly misfired. Democrats, Republicans and newspapers across the country—including the liberal and anti-Agnew Washington *Post*—have risen to defend the Maryland governor against the *Times*' editorial assault.

As is now well known, the *Times* began to fire its mud gun at Agnew for supposed "clear and repeated conflicts of interest" in an October 26 editorial—just 10 days before the presidential election. Under threat of a libel suit—which the courts have made almost impossible for a public official to win—the *Times* muted the charge to "potential conflicts of interest," but it still kept up its anti-Agnew barrage in the face of a wealth of facts that thoroughly rebutted its initial accusation.

The *Times* had charged that in 1965 Agnew joined with a group of businessmen "in purchasing a tract of land on the possible approach route of a new, parallel span of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. As governor, he approved of this route. In response to public criticism, Agnew later sold his share of the land."

Both Agnew and Nixon's national campaign manager John Mitchell issued statements repudiating this assertion. "In this single paragraph," stated Mitchell, "the New York *Times* has sought to leave in the public mind the false impression that Agnew used his office for personal gain. These are the facts:

"First, in 1965, Agnew purchased a one-ninth interest in a tract of land in the vicinity of the existing Bay Bridge. The property was not in Baltimore County, but in Anne Arundel County, in which Agnew, as chief executive of Baltimore County, had no duties and no responsibilities.

"Before his nomination for governor in 1966, Agnew voluntarily disclosed his interest in the property. Before his nomination Agnew also announced that to prevent any possible misunderstanding he had decided to place his interest in that land in an irrevocable trust—with the trustee directed to sell his interest and turn any profit over to charity.

"Well before the general election was held, Agnew transferred the land to the Maryland National Bank by deed of trust which expressly directed that the property be sold and any profit paid over to a charity—the Children's Rehabilitation Institute."

The Times **implication that Agnew, as governor, approved a route for the Bay Bridge that enhanced the value of his real estate interest, and then sold the land after public criticism, "is absolutely false," stated Mitchell.**

A Maryland governor, Agnew stressed, has no authority to approve or disapprove any route. "By law," his statement continued, "the State Road Commission is an autonomous body of the state and the commission and its chairman-director are the body empowered to select and determine road routes."

The *Times* had also charged: "His association with the Chesapeake National Bank involves clear and repeated conflicts of interest. The name of Spiro T. Agnew, identified as 'Governor, State of Maryland,' heads the list of directors on the letterhead of this bank. Since Gov. Agnew is responsible for the enforcement of the state banking laws and the state has public funds on deposit with this bank, it would seem highly improper for the governor to continue as a director and stockholder. The same relationship existed from 1964 to 1966, when Agnew, as county executive, voted to deposit county funds in the bank."

Mitchell responded: "The Chesapeake National Bank . . . is a national bank governed by federal banking laws rather than the Maryland banking laws. It is therefore obvious that neither as governor nor as county executive did Agnew have any responsibility for the policing or regulation of the Chesapeake National Bank. . . .

"The implication that state funds were deposited with the Chesapeake National Bank during Agnew's administration [as governor] is totally false.

"The only state funds on deposit with the bank from the beginning of Agnew's administration to the present are funds that were deposited with the bank during the administration of Democratic Gov. Millard Tawes, some two and one half years before Agnew assumed office."

When these explanations appeared, the *Times* still continued to assail Agnew even though it could not refute the rebuttal in any way. The Democratic state treasurer of Maryland, John A. Luetkemeyer, who was appointed by the legislature over Agnew's objections in 1967, insisted the *Times*' editorial was "inaccurate and misleading" and "wrong on its facts." Baltimore County's Democratic county executive, Dale Anderson, described the controversy over Agnew's financial holdings as "dirty politics."

The Washington Post, which has assailed Agnew for his political views, pooh-poohed the accusations and said that it "is unfortunate that these charges against Gov. Agnew have been raised so late in the campaign." The Washington Evening Star **pointed out that all the details of Gov. Agnew's finances had been "raised and fully explored" months before Agnew was elected governor in 1966.**

This observation appears extremely pertinent, for it was after this probing—on Oct. 12, 1966—that Agnew was warmly endorsed for the position of Maryland governor by the New York *Times*.

• While the *Times* was zeroing in on Agnew over stale charges, it also revealed its incredible double standard by refusing even to discuss editorially a Chicago *Tribune* story that Humphrey in 1956 had accepted six valuable lakeside lots at Waverly, Minn., from a Democratic party backer and dairy owner who at the time was facing a civil anti-trust action for price fixing. The donor had previously been fined in a criminal anti-trust action.

The title deed showed no federal stamps, said the *Tribune*, "indicating that the land transfer was a gift. At the time of the deal Humphrey was a United States senator from Minnesota in a predominantly Democratic Congress and presumably excercised some clout." A spokesman for Humphrey replied by stating Humphrey had actually paid $200 for the lots, which according to a follow-up *Tribune* story, "the local county assessor said had a value of $1,000 each." Unlike Agnew, moreover, Humphrey has not yet issued a detailed accounting of the transaction.

The Humphrey thing also seemed like small potatoes, but certainly as interesting as the Agnew matter. Yet the *Times* somehow didn't have time to probe the Humphrey matter. Nor has the *Times* seemed particularly interested in dealing with possible conflict of interest charges leveled by Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) against a number of Humphrey advisers, including Max Kampelman and Neal Peterson.

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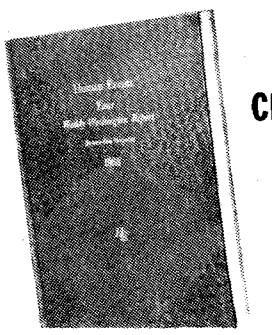

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Clark Refuses to Help Harassed D.C. Merchants

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, whose soft-handed policies and views on law enforcement have become a major election issue, is adding new fuel to the torrid controversy.

To vehement demands for protection for merchants terrorized and robbed by ghetto marauders and killers, Clark maintains that "the right to operate business is not in and of itself a right secured by the Constitution, and there are no federal statutory provisions securing the right to operate or maintain a business."

In effect, Clark argues that neither the Constitution nor statutes provide a claim for protection to maintain and operate a privately owned business.

This is hotly challenged by Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.), who raised the protection issue with Clark following a series of robbery-murders of ghetto merchants in the capital.

As proof of his contention, Broyhill, an influential member of the House District of Columbia Committee, cites the following:

• The 5th and 14th Amendments of the Constitution which he holds "provide that no person shall be deprived of 'life, liberty or property.' This has been interpreted as encompassing within its meaning 'the entire domain of civil rights.' The Supreme Court has held that corporations and businesses are entitled to protection."

Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R.-Va.) sharply criticizes Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark for his laxity in dealing with crime in the Nation's Capital.

• Section 214 of the U.S. Code which provides, "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any person in the full exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States . . . they shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both; and if death results, they shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life."

• Title 1 of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 which Broyhill asserts explicitly states that "Whoever by force or threat of force willfully injures, intimidates or interferes with any person or in order to intimidate such person or any class of persons from participating in or enjoying any benefit, service, privilege, facility or activity provided for or administered by the United States shall be subject to fine or imprisonment or both."

"It is obvious," declares Broyhill, "that the conduct of business is provided for by the government. And there can be no question that business is taxed, regulated, licensed and controlled by the government, as every merchant can attest. So why is business exempt from protection under the Ramsey Clark interpretation of the Constitution and the statutes?"

Rep. Broyhill urgently sought Justice Department prosecution of ghetto marauders following the April riots in the capital.

In a forceful letter to Atty. Gen. Clark, Broyhill "formally requested an immediate investigation to determine if there exists in the District of Columbia a conspiracy by so-called Black Power groups." He particularly called attention to "anti-semitic actions by representatives of Black Power groups."

Broyhill heard nothing regarding his plea until nearly three months later. On July 22 he finally received a letter from Asst. Atty. Gen. Stephen Pollak, head of the Civil Rights Division, replying for Clark.

In this answer, Pollak asserted that neither the Constitution nor statutes afford businessmen protection from violence and pillage. As for Title 1 of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Pollak held that while it specifies penalties for "intimidation on account of race or color of individuals," it does so only "in the exercise of certain enumerated rights such as attending school, utilizing public accommodations and serving on juries."

"This section provides no penalty for intimidation of a businessman," wrote Pollak, "unless he were engaged in one of these enumerated activities, and in addition it were clear that his participation in that particular activity was the reason for the harassment."

This brought an indignant rejoinder from Broyhill.

"Perhaps the merchants of the District of Columbia," he said, "will have to register as students at the School for Afro-American Thought or some other Black Power institute, get themselves harassed, and then the attorney general might step in and protect them on the basis of their being denied equal educational treatment. How ridiculous and supine can you get?

"There is something very immoral about the present administration of justice by the federal government in the failure to protect the rights of hundreds of terrorized merchants in the District of Columbia. The capital city should be a showcase of even-handed justice and equality under the law. If the rights of one person are denied, then all of us are threatened and our republican concept of government is undermined. Such pussyfooting and hair-splitting cannot be tolerated. It's got to be rooted out."

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WE'RE RELIEVED—"We have Moscow's word for it that only swift action by its invasion forces prevented a major conflict from developing on the initiative of Czechoslovakia. This, no doubt, will come as a relief to several million Czechs and all other freedom-loving nations who must be on constant guard against the slightest sign of warmongering."
—From the Birmingham *News*

Among the bitter lessons of the Viet Nam conflict is not to fight half a war while giving the enemy on the battlefield sanctuary and at the same time allow "friendly" nations to trade with the adversary.

What Viet Nam Has Taught Us

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

With the Administration frantically searching for some way to reach an agreement on Viet Nam before the election, the lessons of that war ought to be plain to every American.

These are, as I see them, the following:

• Never again fight an undeclared war. For by so doing an administration leaves the door open for domestic opponents, including part of the press, to help the enemy. This they do by draft dodging and open resistance to serving; by announcing that our side cannot win; by reporting our losses, movements of troops and any occasional weakening of military morale; by casting doubt upon the strategic judgment of our military leaders on the spot; and by emphasizing every moral, political and military weakness of our allies and glossing over their successes.

None of these things would be permitted in a war legally declared by the Congress of the United States.

• Never fight a half war which either because of an undeclared agreement with our enemies or for some other reason we do not think it necessary to win.

• Never permit anyone, and least of all our so-called allies, to supply any form of support, food, machinery, arms or what not, to the enemy. If necessary withdraw protection from these allies that insist on helping our adversary or remaining "neutral." There is something abnormal, almost obscene, about guaranteeing the security of countries that refuse to help us.

• Except in a life-or-death situation, give to the victims of Communist aggression only the kind of indirect help which we gave to anti-Communist Greece. No Russians or, so far as I know, Red Chinese, are actually fighting in South Viet Nam. Why not leave it to directly threatened countries—Korea, the Philippines, Australia, Thailand, yes, and Japan—to do the job? Combined, they have the strength to overrun North Viet Nam in no time.

Finally, at home, once war starts, leave its conduct to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, undeterred by civilian whiz-kids who know nothing about fighting and whose predictions, as expressed by the President and the secretary of defense, have been *almost uniformly wrong*.

These are to me the lessons of the longest and so far least successful war in our history.

They do not of course dispense us from the necessity of keeping South Viet Nam free, since any failure to do so will be catastrophic.

And instead, what do we see? A President, a Texan at that, making even further concessions to the enemy; less bombing, the unrequited release of North Vietnamese prisoners—and what next? It is as though LBJ were calling Ho Chi Minh on the phone and begging him, oh please, to start real negotiations, or pretend to do so, before November 5. What would Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt have thought of such behavior? How do the majority of still undaunted American voters view this sort of electioneering?

However, by some strange coincidence, the Administration has suddenly announced it will give long-delayed arms to the military rulers in Greece. Could this have anything to do with American voters of Greek origin? And what about those planes for Israel? Among us are a goodly number of pro-Israel Jews.

Funny? I wish I could think so.

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WELFARE MESS—"In August there were 916,116 persons on relief in the city of New York. Now officials announce that there will be more than one million receiving welfare by Jan. 1, 1969, a total of nearly 15 per cent of the city's population. This occurs at a time when both the city and the nation are enjoying an alltime peak in prosperity and there are more jobs available than there are workers to fill them in a majority of the employment categories. Parenthetically, this city of clerks is undergoing its most severe manpower shortage since World War II. Wall Street brokerage houses are starting untrained clerical employes at $110 to $125 a week and promising each a year-end bonus of $1,200, irrespective of their progress or length of tenure. The shortage of secretarial help is likewise critical. In all of America there can be no more shining example of the absolute failure of the government's anti-poverty programs of the last five years than in the city of New York, where in the boomingest time ever recorded, poverty is increasing."—Columnist Donald I. Rogers

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Chromite Dependence

Administration's Rhodesian Policy Aids USSR

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

By sticking its nose into the internal affairs of Rhodesia, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has very thoroughly cut it off. On this issue, neither Richard Nixon nor Hubert Humphrey has spoken up. Perhaps they feel that the American voter is not interested in something as prosaic as chromite. Yet this metal is essential to the American economy.

Comes now Rep. Thomas B. Curtis, a Republican of Missouri running for the United States Senate. Mr. Curtis is one of those rare members of the House who has voted his convictions, even if he stands one against the gang. There have been times when I have disagreed with Tom Curtis, but never once when I have questioned his integrity. He is also a member of that equally rare congressional breed who always do their homework.

In a closely reasoned argument, Mr. Curtis has pointed out to his colleagues just what is happening to the United states because of its senseless stand on Rhodesia. This country is totally dependent on imports for its chromite, an essential element in the production of stainless steel.

Until 1966, when the Johnson-Humphrey Administration knuckled under to the United Nations in its "sanctions" against Rhodesia, that country was the main source of chromite. Since January 1967 the Soviet Union has become our major source of chromite.

Mr. Curtis raises several important questions about this preferential treatment given to the Communists by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. Let me quote him:

"First. If we refuse to buy chromite from Rhodesia for political reasons, what about the USSR? Is Rhodesia a greater 'threat to the peace' than the USSR? Why are we increasing trade with and our dependence on the invader of Czechoslovakia and still refusing to trade with Rhodesia, which threatens no other country?. . .Why are we increasing our single-source dependence on the USSR?" Is this really in our "national interest" as the Johnson-Humphrey Administration claims?

What about price? "Without Rhodesian competition," Mr. Curtis reports, "the USSR is able to raise prices with impunity. Prior to 1967 chrome ore sold for about $32 a ton. It is now about $42 a ton, and in 1969 USSR prices are predicted at around $45. This, of course, makes all goods using chrome in them more expensive"—to the American consumer. "By putting ourselves into single-source dependence on the USSR, we are putting prices exclusively in the hands of the Soviets."

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Rhodesia's Ian Smith met unsuccessfully last week aboard the HMS Fearless in an effort to reconcile their differences. Rep. Tom Curtis (R.-Mo.) points out the economic folly in U.S. refusal to trade with Rhodesia.

According to Mr. Curtis, United States stockpiles of chromite are not adequate to our needs should the Soviet Union decide, for political reasons, to cut off our supplies. But the problem goes beyond this. There are American mining interests in Rhodesia which are being penalized, to the advantage of the Communists, by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

"Two U.S. companies have extensive chrome mine interests in Rhodesia," Mr. Curtis points out. "They are no longer permitted to export their production to the United States because of the economic sanctions imposed [by the United Nations] against Rhodesia. . .150,000 tons of ore mined prior to the sanctions, but stored in Rhodesia, are not allowed to come into the United States. This ore has already been paid for and its effect on the balance of payments has already occurred. . . .At least one of the U.S.-owned companies has been in Rhodesia for over 40 years. Inventory is now piling up. . .and economic distress for these companies is obviously apparent."

And, Tom Curtis sums up: "Political preferences should not be allowed to change flows of U.S. trade, particularly when they could place this country in a very dangerous situation. The only reasonable policy is to buy products we need where we can get the best quality and the best price."

No one would argue with this except for the ideologues in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration who shake with anger at the thought of a Rhodesia which minds its own business but quiver with pleasure over a Soviet Union which threatens the United States at every turn. There must be a reason for this, but Rep. Curtis is too soft-spoken a man to suggest what it is. Perhaps, if he is elected to the United States Senate—and that would be a boon to the country—he will continue to explore this aspect of a grave and fearsome problem.

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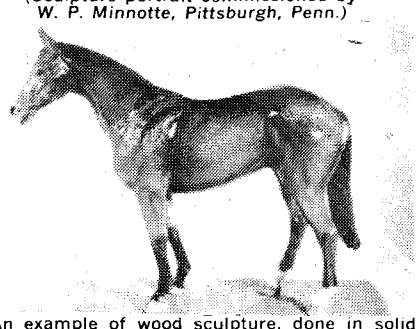

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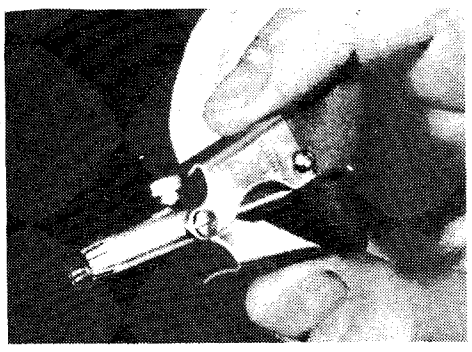

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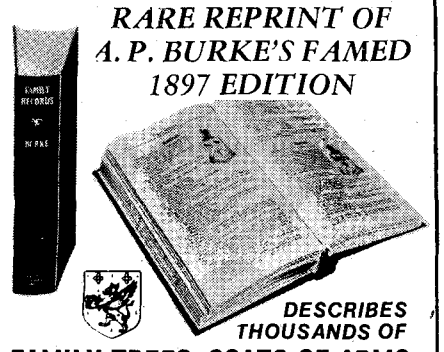

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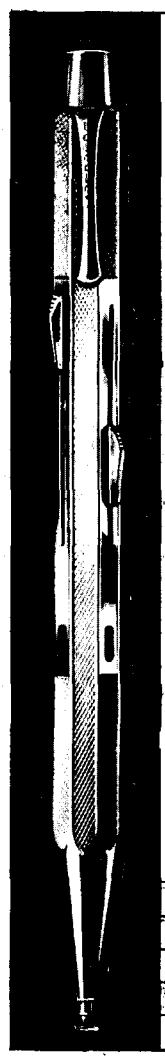

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The Battle of West Berlin Is Political

Will the Allies have the determination to resist the increasing Soviet-inspired harassment by Ulbricht & Co.?

By HAL LEHRMAN

The good news about the creeping crisis in West Berlin is that all the policy-makers on our side—the separate Anglo-Franco-American military commands in the city's three Western-occupied sectors, the Bonn government, West Berlin's City Hall *and* the Department of State—know *now* that Lucius Clay was right in 1948 and that Dean Acheson was right in 1961.

In 1948 our Soviet "allies" suddenly nipped off access to West Berlin by rail, road and river. Gen. Clay, then U.S. military governor, proposed sending just one armored squadron from Helmstedt in the American Zone across 110 miles of Soviet-held East Germany to West Berlin. He knew the Soviets wouldn't dare stop it.

But Paris, London and Washington did not know. So we mounted the costliest blockade-buster in history, the Berlin Airlift. A year later, when the Soviets were finally sure we meant business, they lifted the blockade. Today we know that Clay was right.

In 1961, when the first flimsy barbed-wire and wooden barricades went up around West Berlin overnight, President John F. Kennedy asked Acheson's advice. The ex-secretary of state also proposed armor out of Helmstedt. He also knew this would nudge the nervous Soviets to knock down the experimental, tentative wall themselves. But we dispatched no armor.

So the wall became The Wall. It turned into cement. It grew thicker, harder, uglier—and indestructible short of war because too much Soviet face had become involved. Acheson was right too.

After the latest Communist pinpricks this summer to speed the sinking of this democratic island into a Red sea, it has become agreeably apparent that everyone in our camp at last understands the value of counter-pinpricks. We now see that the Soviets are not impressed by protests and definitely not swayed by reasonable but amiable argument. They are impressed only—and will be deterred in West Berlin only—by a show of strength.

The problem for our side is how much strength to show and how to make sure the Russians get the message.

Too much strength—out of line with the relatively petty but cumulative recent pressures on West Berlin—might force the Soviets to save face by matching and topping it. This could spur an escalation which neither we nor they want.

Too little strength—inadequate to the Soviet provocation—would certainly be read by the Russians as weakness. They always read it that way. The Kremlin would credit itself with another round of bluff—and stake some bigger chips on the next deal.

In short, the amount of Western counter-action has to be exactly right, and its robust intention clear. As Dean Rusk said in 1961, "if peace depends on clarity, the other side must not be allowed any dangerous illusions."

Finally, it is essential that all Western hands show coordination, or at least a plausible facsimile thereof.

There is a further necessity. It is not enough for us to know what impresses the Russians. We also have to be *willing*, taking the whole European and world picture into account, to impress them *in West Berlin.* If we are, the city's freedom will survive. If we are not, liberty here—sooner or later—will perish.

For a time this spring and summer our initial reaction to fresh obstructions of West Berlin entry and exit seemed to be begging for another and sharper Red turn of the screw.

Fleeing East Germans, defying their Red masters, have even used sewer lines to escape Ulbricht's "paradise."

The campaign began in March with a sudden East German ban on transit to and from Berlin across Red German territory by National Democratic party members and other right-wing Germans.

A strong Western response, it was felt, would have been interpreted as excessive zeal for some ex-Hitlerites. We merely noted for the record, limply, that the Soviets, not the East Germans, were the legal control authority—and responsible for maintaining access rights of *all* West Berliners.

After waiting about a month, the puppet East Berlin regime gave the screw another twist: Ban on travel across "sovereign" East German territory was extended to "high-ranking" members of the "revanchist" West German government.

Several important persons were subsequently turned back: Ambassador Egon Bahr, a close aide of Vice Chancellor Willy Brandt; Bernt Conrad, chief Berlin correspondent of Axel Springer's *Die Welt*, and even Berlin Mayor Klaus Schuetz.

Once more the West made no effective response. Why bother, it was implied, since such people could always come and go by air?

Accordingly, after another month or so, the screw turned again. Now *all* West Germans would have to get visas from the East German authorities and pay a fee; goods in and out of West Berlin would be taxed so many pfennigs per kilometer/ton, with an extra charge for gasoline and other "hazardous" materials.

The taxes were not imposed to extort cash or cripple West Berlin's economy. By reliable calculation, the revenue would be between $20 and $35 million annually, which cost could easily be absorbed by the West German government. Bonn was already subsidizing the city with $650 million each year, not including $250 million voluntarily dropped each year by the generous federal system of tax-saving incentives to encourage investment in West Berlin. Also, there is Bonn's contribution of a classified but large sum for occupation costs. The grand total of Bonn's annual outlay for Berlin came easily to over $1 billion.

The screw-twist was not economic but political. It advanced two precise objectives. They were, in order of importance, first, Bonn's formal recognition of the GDR ("German Democratic Republic") as a state and, second, disappearance of West Berlin into a "united" Berlin and thereafter into the GDR.

Objective No. 1 would be furthered because every iota of actual authority (visas, fees, freight clearances) applied by a regime which Bonn and the Allies regard as non-existent helped legalize that regime in fact by compelling West Germans to deal with it.

Objective No. 2 would be moved along because each unchallenged squeeze on communications showed that the East Germans laid down the rules while the Allies stood by impotently. Each extra squeeze would further reduce the morale of West Berliners, sharpen their sense of isolation, diminish their identity as part of West Germany, shrink the involvement in *them* by West Germany (and the West) and deepen a general boredom with the whole subject.

At a certain point, all this would conspire to produce what Nikita Khrushchev demanded Berlin should be as long ago as 1958—a "Free City," not an extension of West Germany—and what East German leader Walther Ulbricht has always angled for: classification of Berlin as a "separate political entity."

The slow fadeout could occur without ever molesting the rights of *Allied* access. But, once accomplished, it would be serenely easy to transform the fiction of "free" and "separate" into the fact of Berlin's total digestion by the GDR.

When I arrived in West Berlin in late June, our side appeared to be doing two futile exercises—a wringing of hands and a pointing of fingers.

The first exercise had two movements, one for each hand. There was unanimous agreement that the Reds had been terribly shrewd in picking the moment; *there was equally universal consent that* the Reds had us "over a barrel."

At the same time, each element on our side was insinuating that all the others lacked the resolution and readiness for sacrifice needed to drum up a workable unity against the latest Communist threat.

What was "shrewd" about the moment? Simply that the climate was right for Red boldness and wrong for Western firmness, at least over Berlin.

1. Around Eastertime, West Berlin's "future intellectual leaders"—the generally leftist university community—had staged Germany's biggest and best student riots. An over-vigorous police response shocked even West Berliners and was played up by Ulbricht's propaganda mill as "Fascist reaction."

2. Bonn had also drawn fire for its new "Fascist" emergency laws. Every government has such provisions. The Allies had retained power to handle emergencies until, as stipulated in the 1950 Bonn Constitution, the federal government drafted its own regulations. The final texts of the latter, watered down from the lawyers' drafts, were about the mildest in the world against riot and rebellion. This did not prevent the East German regime from making them sound terrible.

3. Each of the Allies had bigger fish frying than Berlin. The Americans were struggling with Viet Nam; Charles de Gaulle with riots, strikes and elections; Harold Wilson with Tory victories and Labor insurrections.

4. West Germany was increasing its *contacts with East Europe. Wouldn't* these, and "reform" in Czechoslovakia, be impeded if we all got tough on East Berlin? Wouldn't the USSR seize the pretext to discipline its wayward satellite and unite East Europe against the imperialist West? (This, of course, was before the Red and four other invading armies marched into Czechoslovakia.)

5. Most of all, it was said, the time was sticky because a main plank of the Bonn "Grand Coalition" between Christian Democrats and Socialists stipulated patient search for reduced tension with East Europe and the USSR. Stern responses to piddling East German nuisances might jeopardize this search for "detente," a search likely to slow up to a standstill after recent Soviet occupation of Prague.

Now it was evident that Red German boss Ulbricht must have secured Soviet approval before venturing on these "nuisances," and that the Soviets believed their opponents had too many other worries to boil up a crisis over West Berlin.

Nevertheless I was assured that Moscow was also for detente and had only reluctantly okayed the East German move. It was Ulbricht who was against any satellite reform. (In late July, East German press fulminations against Prague were more virulent even than Moscow's, and were painfully reminiscent of the 1939 Nazi diatribes against "aggressionist" pre-war Poland.)

Strong Allied reaction to Ulbricht's "nuisances" (so went the argument) would only play into Ulbricht's hands, since for him a settlement in Europe *might also result in* "settling" *him.* No, nothing must jeopardize hopes for detente and an all-European solution. In such a general settlement the problem of Berlin would solve itself or simply vanish.

And why were we "over a barrel" in Berlin now? Because (*a*) we had never gotten clear Soviet guarantee of West German access to West Berlin *in writing* and (*b*) our failure to move against the unspeakable Wall had made all subsequent assaults on West Berlin's human dignity seem picayune.

Successive four-power arrangements had honed out more or less precise Red commitment on Allied access rights. But even the 1949 agreements

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which lifted the blockade and restored all communications had left civilian rights vague enough to permit opposing interpretations. Non-military access in effect depended on a "gentlemen's agreement"—a device which, everybody now understood, was a shaky way to deal with Communists.

One high German jurist told me: "I would have immediately fired any law-school graduate in my office writing such sloppy language into a contract." This, plus the precedent of not having challenged the 1961 Wall, created a foundation of sand for strong postures against new Red assaults. Especially since these assaults were committed by the "salami" technique: one thin slice at a time, each too thin to really count, but enough of them finally to cause the salami's entire disappearance.

As for finger-pointing, the scene looked like a Tweed ring, with each partner blaming every other. To note only two, American sources were saying that the Germans were unwilling to act, and local sources were saying that the Germans were being asked to take all the risks.

The Americans wanted the West Germans to stop barter with the East Germans. This would handsomely clobber the latter, who depended heavily on West German superior goods paid for by soft coal and other inferior goods not salable in world markets. The West Germans retorted that such a cut-off of inter-zonal trade had been tried before and had failed, because Sweden, France and other competitors were glad to fill the vacuum.

West Germans proposed instead that the Allied Travel Office in Berlin stop giving permits to East German officials eager to visit NATO countries for expansion of Red trade and political contacts. Americans retorted that these contacts amounted to very little. They recommended that Bonn should deny access by East German trade and "cultural" missions to West Germany.

But this, said the West Germans, would violate a basic, almost mystic, principle: Travel and trade between the two Germanies must be encouraged, not deterred, as the only tie still binding the severed parts of the Fatherland. Moreover, exposure even of Ulbricht disciples to West German prosperity and freedom could be educational.

It seemed to West Berliners that the United States wanted at all costs to avoid a "crisis" over Berlin in view of Viet Nam. And it seemed to Americans that the West Berliners wanted to avoid a "crisis" so as not to scare away new investment capital or spur the flight westward of old capital—and of West Berliners.

As July and August rolled along, enough action was taken to produce a Mexican stand-off.

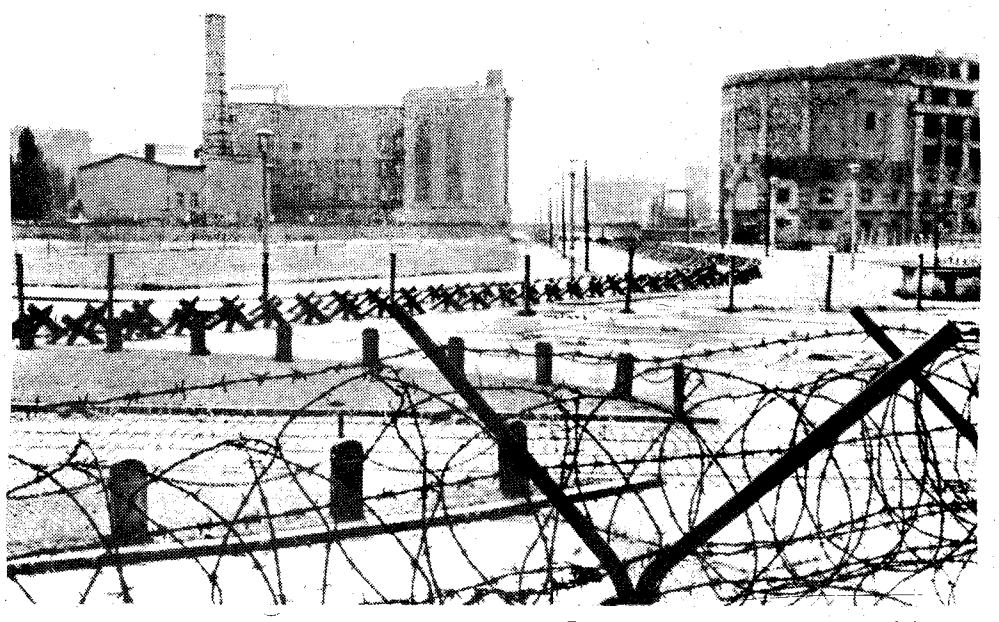
Because Ulbricht had imposed visas and a fee ($5) in and out of West Berlin, the Allied Travel Office began collecting a fee ($5) from East Germans bound for NATO terrain. (These travelers being scarce and all of them official, the East German treasury will bear the cost and it will be negligible.)

Because West German shipping to East Europe was being sometimes harassed in East German waters, Bonn showed that two could play the game by delaying an East German barge en route to Holland.

Because East Germany and Moscow had spoken with thunder, a NATO Ministerial Council thundered back from Iceland that the restrictions on West Berlin created "a serious situation," that NATO entirely backed the Big Three's determination to keep access free, and that the USSR (the GDR was ignored) must cease and desist. Secretary Rusk flew specially from Reykjavik to Bonn and stayed there four hours to underline the gravity of "strongest" three-power protests in preparation for the Soviets.

These were duly delivered in identical notes to Moscow a week later. They evoked from Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev the bland response that "the German Democratic Republic has the right to protect its borders." In turn Bonn Foreign Minister Brandt announced that Soviet comfort to East German nuisance-makers was an "obvious" disservice to detente.

Practical adjustments are being made on both sides. At the start there was foul-up on the borders, when West Germans without visas were turned back and East German functionaries were all thumbs in the new red tape. But a recent visit to one checkpoint showed that traffic is again flowing. Some travelers are sending their families by road and going by air themselves. More flights have been laid on between Berlin and Hanover, the nearest West German airport. Fares have again been reduced.



Potsdamer Platz, once the heart of downtown Berlin, is now a no-man's land between East and West divided by the infamous Berlin Wall.

Did Brezhnev (and Ulbricht) "get the message"? Probably not. Will a new nuisance be committed? Probably yes.

In fact, a fresh tempest may be brewing over an ominous GDR announcement made by Ulbricht's Foreign Ministry in August. It was a notice "reminding" all interested parties that air access rights cover *only* Allied personnel and supplies, not civilian traffic, over which the GDR retains "sovereign" control. This could spell big trouble.

Theoretically, the Soviet shift on any given day or night could fail to report for duty at the four-power Air Safety Center on the Potsdamerstrasse; an East German batch of technicians could turn up instead; if the Allies shut the door on them the Soviets could disclaim responsibility for future "accidents" in Berlin's congested skies.

Worse, the Soviets have a treaty right to see passenger manifests for all Berlin flights. These could easily be passed on to the East Germans. If the Soviets approved, a commercial plane carrying some West German "Fascist" might then be buzzed and forced down on East German territory. The fat would be definitely in the fire.

As I said earlier, the futility of appeasing the Soviets is now fully understood here. The latest rape of Czechoslovakia underlines the point. Examples of Allied resolution and Russian backtracking are being vividly recalled. Everybody remembers that in 1964 a Soviet try at monkeying with Autobahn procedures for Allied convoys was met by a convoy stand-fast on East German soil and the rumble of Allied military preparations elsewhere—followed by absent-minded but utter Russian retreat.

One finds a new determination around West Berlin's Rathaus (City Hall). If the East Germans seriously interfere with West Berlin trucks, people are saying, we'll ask the Allies to commence putting the freight into military convoys. The mayor of West Berlin might even be installed in an Allied tank.

Let's have a meeting of the West German Bundestag (Federal Parliament) in West Berlin, people are saying, to show "them" this is Germany's real capital. When we elect a new federal president soon by a special convocation of national and provincial parliaments, let the convocation take place *here*.

Meanwhile American circles are speculating that—if the three Allies *and* the other members of NATO *and* the Bonn government can close ranks—there is a variety of interesting counter-measures to contemplate on the next occasion when the Reds try another turn of the screw. Depending on the degree of the turn, a united Western front might:

- Clamp a universal NATO embargo on one item desperately needed by East Germany, like computers, with promise of adding other items if the nuisance persisted or grew.
- Cool off Ulbricht's developing trade with the West by barring all East German travel to NATO countries.
- Cut off NATO trade with East Germany entirely.

After Berlin I traveled to important West German centers like Frankfurt and Hamburg to sound out opinion. A startling number of the economic and intellectual leadership in such places, especially among top-ranking journalists, are themselves "exiles" from Berlin.

They do not necessarily regard the old capital as "irredenta" to which they clamor to return. But I have met nobody whose fierce loyalty to the city has diminished. Nor is there the smallest sign anywhere of fatigue over paying the steep subsidy to keep Berlin going, or of ennui over the interminable struggle to keep it free.

However, frustration of the Soviets and of their Ulbricht puppets does not depend on the West Germans. It depends on the Allies, because they occupy West Berlin and their decisions, not Bonn's, are the ultimate law.

It cannot be reported that, despite their knowledge of the low returns on appeasement, the Western allies are reliably firm on implementing this simple truth. Right now, in fact, they are gravely deliberating with Bonn on the possible removal from West Berlin of RIAS (whose American-managed news broadcasts are the West's strongest existing propaganda weapon in the East). The Allies are also giving serious thought to the thesis that the staging of a federal parliamentary session in West Berlin might be unduly provocative (although Ulbricht's parliament has its *permanent* seat in East Berlin).

There is no future in predicting how stoutly our side will stand up to the next left jab. We can only be sure of certain fundamentals:

- The battle for Berlin is political, not military. We are pledged to defend the city against attack. But first there must *be* an attack. The Allied garrison (total: approximately 11,000 troops) might conceivably hold out long enough against 20 encircling Soviet divisions in the immediate neighborhood for us to make a decisive hit elsewhere. But this would mean the ultimate confrontation which the Russians abhor no less than we. Consequently, West Berlin will be kept or lost on the political chessboard, not on the battlefield. We can win only if the Russians know we are resolved not to lose.
- Otherwise, the Russians will continue eternally to try. They must. Their lifeline to Poland stretches through East Germany. A democratic western outpost astride that line is a perpetual hazard, by its mere existence and example, to a safely totalitarian East Germany.
- Ulbricht, too, must go on trying. If he can assiduously cause Berlin's ties with Bonn to wither away without excessive abridgement at any given moment of the Allies' own right in the city, the time will come when the Allies have nothing more to protect and therefore no reason to linger. His "salami" technique, patient but increasingly meaningful, is the only sure route to the full sovereignty he craves.

There is another peril for West Berlin, unless its morale is jacked up high by proof of Allied resolve.

Until the Wall arose, more young people were immigrating than leaving; the rate of population growth kept well ahead of the death rate. But since the Wall, there has been a flight of youth and of capital. There are eight vacant chairs in the Free University's philosophy faculty.

Lavishly aided by subsidies and tax privileges, some new speculative building goes on, even flush up against the Wall itself. But companies are no longer setting up main headquarters in Berlin.

An extreme shortage, typically, has developed in the supply of office secretaries. West Berlin's inhabitants are on average some 10 years older than people in any other German city. In the entire Federal Republic, 12 per cent are over 65 years of age, and 31 per cent are over 50. But in West Berlin 21 per cent are over 65—and 45 per cent over 50.

"West Berlin can slip into senility just as surely as it can die under Communist surgery," a noted writer here—himself past 60—points out to me. "We are all slowing down. The level of our political and cultural life sags every year. We may end up by becoming just another sleepy German provincial town." But, he adds with a twinkle, "it's still better to be provincialized than Sovietized. Nobody dies of provincialism."

From the West's point of view, Lenin's evaluation of Berlin is also worth noting. Lenin said that whoever has Berlin has Germany, whoever has Germany has Europe, whoever has Europe has the world. In our expanding universe the sweep of this dictum may require some reduction. But it is still valid, in full, for the Soviets. They keep repeating it—and applying it.

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Businessmen Accuse Black Militants of Unfair Labor Practices

By VICTOR RIESEL

Chicago:—More history is being made and new battle lines are being drawn here in Daley-town, far from fortress Hilton.

Some industrialists have decided that confrontation—albeit peaceful and legalistic—is the best policy to deal with tough, direct-actionist, self-appointed militants.

So General Electric, harassed here by a handful of sit-inners and pickets, has gone to the National Labor Relations Board and charged the new Black Labor Federation, some of its leaders and one of its affiliates, with unfair labor practices.

Labor and industrial insiders are zeroing in on the action. It is the first such move. It sets precedent. It may wildfire through big cities, where black caucuses have been challenging big unions and corporation executives, pulling quickie strikes, provoking wildcats and forcing big factories to suspend production for hours and even shut down for a day.

Leaders of the Black Labor Federation say they simply want to make unions and industry "more relevant to the needs of the black man," and charge that "organized labor is yet another force within white society to help perpetuate the status quo and to oppose the black man's quest for total equality."

Labor leaders in the big cities, especially where there are concentrations of steel, auto and transportation installations, retort that "black caucuses" want to bypass the legitimate unions, tear up collective bargaining agreements, and take over "representation" of thousands of plant workers.

Recently black action, usually led by 40 or 50 militants seeking the support of many thousands of uninterested black and other minority employes, has disrupted auto factories and steel mills.

Many of the corporations hit by the militants have fine records on minority employment. Here, General Electric has been going all-out with educational programs, orientation courses, heavy employment of black and Spanish-speaking workers, and bonuses for black recruitment and steady attendance, at its Hotpoint household appliance operation.

Of its 3,600 hourly rated blue-collar employes, some 1,200 (actually more than 33 per cent of the union members) are from minority communities. Of course there are frictions, factions and fist fights. But under contract with Sheet Metal Local 571, the plant has worked smoothly.

Last summer a black militant, Willie Plunkett, ran for local president, lost, and organized the Afro-American Employes of Hotpoint.

Then he and others launched the Black Labor Federation early in October. Just about that time a black worker and a Spanish-speaking employe got into a brawl inside the plant. Both were suspended. Then, "supervision," reviewing the case, reinstated the Spanish-speaking chap and fired the Negro. The decision was that he had started the fight.

The next day, Thursday, October 10, the Afro-American committee pulled a 55-minute sit-down. The following Monday, Willie Plunkett, the 27-year-old committee chairman, held a well-attended lunchtime news conference outside the plant gate. He and his colleagues threatened to shut down the plant if their demands were not met.

The militants wanted General Electric, now under contract with the Sheet Metal workers until Oct. 26, 1969, to recognize the Afro-American group as the employes' collective bargaining agent.

Then the Afro-American committee went back into the building. But they refused to work. "Supervision" urged them to resume their work. They refused. They were asked to leave—some 33 sit-inners in all. Again they refused. So the big installation was shut down for the day at considerable cost.

Came the dawn, also came pickets. For a week, handfuls of Afro-American committee members stalked the gates. They were ignored by virtually all workers—black, white, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking. There was no backlash. Nor did anyone lash anyone out front. In the meantime, Willie Plunkett and 32 others were suspended.

But they continued to demand they be recognized as the plant's collective bargaining agent.

They were supported by the Black Labor Federation.

Then, determined to settle once and for all the right of a tiny band of militants, regardless of color, to harass unions and industrialists, General Electric filed its unfair labor practices action with the NLRB.

The document, filed with the regional board on October 15, charges that Hotpoint has been picketed on and off since October 14 in violation of the federal labor law. If the board examiner finds the Black Labor Federation guilty of unfair labor practice, he will order it to desist.

If Willie Plunkett and his co-leaders refuse, the matter goes into the courts for enforcement. If the courts support the board, the government must enforce the law.

It will take a long time. But the issue has been confronted on a new and ever-widening front. Sooner or later, we'll know who speaks for whom and whose rights are being violated.

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The 'Times' and 'Fountainhead'

By ROSALIE GORDON in *America's Future*

Last May marked the 25th anniversary of the publication of a novel which has become something of an American classic: *The Fountainhead* by Ayn Rand. The publishers issued a special anniversary edition of the book (Bobbs-Merrill, clothbound, $8; New American Library, paperbound, $1.25) which has sold continuously for 25 years. The event led the New York *Times Book Review*—that weekly review journal which still wields a disproportionate influence on book stores and prospective readers—to get caught, to put it inelegantly, with its literary panties down and its bias (leaning always to port, never to starboard) showing.

First about Miss Rand and *The Fountainhead*. She has become in more recent years something of a political and economic philosopher who commands quite a cult of followers. Parts of that philosophy we completely disagree with, but that does not alter the fact that Miss Rand is a first-rate novelist or that *The Fountainhead*, in addition to its theme of man's never-ending battle against evil—the evil, especially, of the collectivity as opposed to the striving, and necessity for self-expression of the individual—also tells a dramatic, absorbing, corking good story. Its continued success for so many years is well-deserved. It is *The Fountainhead* as a novel and the *Times Book Review*'s treatment of it with which we are here concerned.

The *Times Book Review* had several choices when *The Fountainhead* reached its 25th birthday. It could have ignored the event altogether, as it often ignores major books its editors do not like. In this case it would have been open to no particular criticism, since there is no intellectual compulsion really to especially notice a novel that survives; others, too, have done so.

It could have noted the anniversary and the new editions as a strictly factual book-news item. Or it could have reprinted or referred back to its own review of *The Fountainhead* when it was first published 25 years ago.

The estimable New York *Times Book Review* did none of these. Instead, it consigned *The Fountainhead*, presumably with instructions to do a special anniversary article on it for the *Review*, to a lady whose qualifications for the hatchet job she evidently was expected to produce were great or non-existent, depending on your point of view. She admitted she didn't understand *The Fountainhead* when she first read it, obviously still doesn't, and boasted that she had promised herself never to read it again.

All this is the lady's privilege, of course, as it is also the privilege of the New York *Times Book Review*, albeit rather gratuitously, to take off after Ayn Rand and her book. But the least we have a right to expect is a more or less honest bit of reporting.

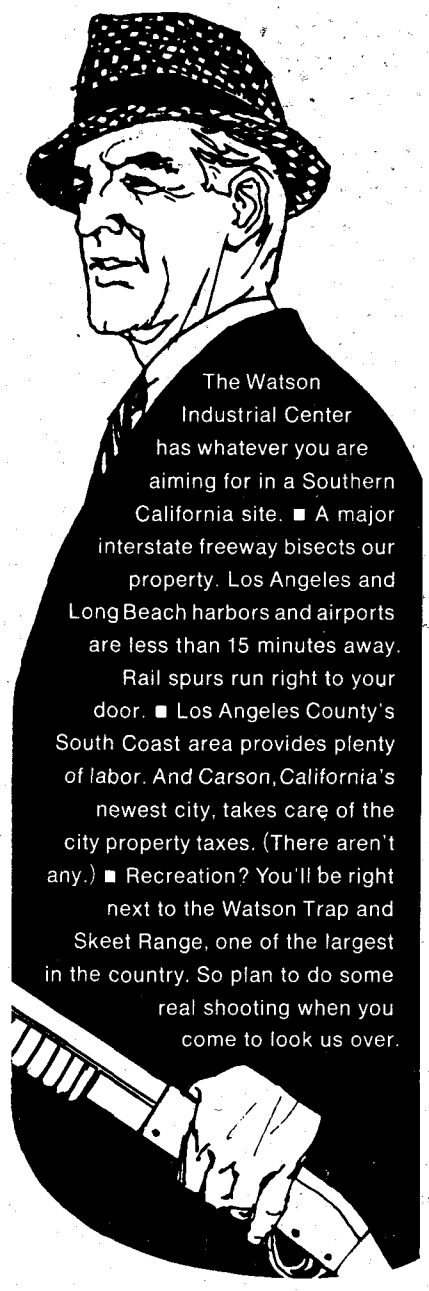
Instead, the hatchet-lady to whom the anniversary story was assigned wielded her little hatchet not only inaccurately in several instances, but actually succeeded in making quite a slash in her own and the *Times*' necks by declaring that when *The Fountainhead* first appeared it was almost unanimously badly received.

She quoted from a few reviews to prove this, but failed most significantly to quote from the review which appeared—where? In the New York Times Book Review! **Whether she was unaware of it or deliberately ignored it, we do not know. But obviously she couldn't use it to prove her point because the entire two-column review was a paean of praise for** The Fountainhead.

However, the only way readers of the New York *Times Book Review* could find this out was for the publisher of Miss Rand's book to take and pay for a full-page ad, which appeared last August 11 in the *Book Review* and in that ad to reproduce in full the New York *Times Book Review*'s original review of *The Fountainhead*.

The publisher's ad was quite properly entitled "In the Interests of Justice"—something, seemingly, you can get in this literary journal only if you are not anywhere near the ideological center or (perish the thought) right, or if you are willing to cough up the price of an ad.

Watson gives you the whole shooting match



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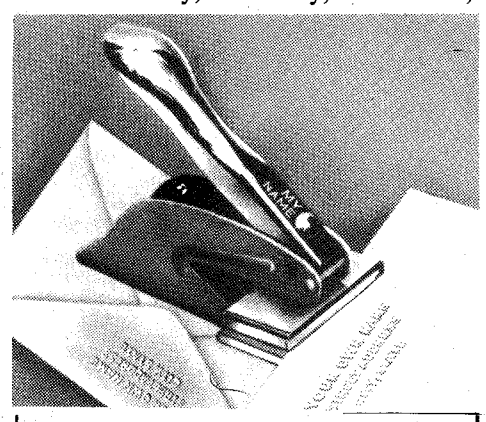

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How High Is Up?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Ho-hum, I've been found anti-intellectual again by a jury of my betters.

Maybe I'd better recap this one. (1) UC at Berkeley engages Eldrige Cleaver for a series of 10 lectures on racism. (2) Since Cleaver has served time for rape and other offenses, is currently out on $50,000 bail on a charge of attempted murder and, for good measure, is noted for spouting obscenity, a public clamor ensues and the regents cut the lecture series down to one talk.

(3) Whereupon the UC faculty beats its collective breast and claims its academic freedom has been violated—and wasn't that what our Revolution was about? (4) I ask the boys to grow up and remind them that a Ph.D. degree doesn't guarantee omniscience—that the taxpayer has some rights, too.

And now (5) a student gleefully forwards a clipping of a letter appearing in the Santa Monica *Outlook,* and scrawls across it, "Do you believe in Higher Education or don't you?"

The letter is from T.A. Geisman, chemistry prof at UCLA. In it he'd have me know just what the Ph.D. denotes. The holders of that degree are "experts in human behavior, from the purely intellectual to the intensely practical, and often in both."

He asks me rhetorically if I want the taxpayer to have control over how he and his fellow Ph. D.'s should teach chemistry, math, botany and French. (No, professor, I don't—and that goes for Latin, Greek and basket-weaving, too.)

Ah, then he has me! Surely, he goes on, the profs in the social sciences have the same rights as those in the physical sciences to balk at a committee of non-professional citizens trying to tell them how and what to teach.

Whoa, professor! Surely you know that the so-called social sciences are not sciences in the same sense your own field is. The basic elements of organic, inorganic, physical and analytic chemistry are accepted and taught alike in Berkeley, Moscow, Peking and Prague.

But sociology? Oh, come now! Lift your head out of the test tubes and put away your aldehydes and ketones long enough to read something by Marx, Lenin, Mao or even Dr. Marcuse, your confrere who teaches at San Diego.

And now for the student who wanted to know whether I believe in the Higher Education. My answer to that is "How high is up?" (Which, incidentally, was the basis for an old vaudeville routine, of the same school as Abbott and Costello's famous "Who's on first?")

I'm all for the Higher Education for our youngsters, but I'm against sending them into an atmosphere so rarefied that it produces the bends.

E.g., the daughter of a good friend of mine has just enrolled at Berkeley. And the first campus get-together she attended was, to her amazement, one in which the aforementioned Cleaver led a couple of thousand students in an attack on our governor by chanting "----Reagan! ----Reagan! ----Reagan!" The blanks represent an unprintable four-letter word.

Unprintable, that is, in this paper, but not in the campaign literature of one Jefferson Poland when he ran for student president at San Francisco State College last April. And one of his endorsers was an instructor in the Experimental College connected with that institution. And what did this "instructor" teach? Why, a seminar in guerrilla warfare, intended for practical use in urban areas when the "new revolution" comes.

And at Long Beach College, one student earned the degree of Master of Arts for some creative sculpture featuring acts of sexual perversion. These were exhibited on the campus but, when the Chancellor forbade any further public showings, the Academic Senate—which surely contained many Ph.D.'s—censured the Chancellor!

How now, Prof. Geisman? Are these the men you describe as "appointed through carefully controlled selection procedures, to provide to students that part of their education that they are highly qualified to give"?

If so I—and a lot of other taxpayers—will take vanilla. And will hardly be inclined to vote more funds for "Higher Education."

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Hubert's Picture Book

By DON MACLEAN

in the Washington *Daily News*

There I was recently, standing in front of the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel here, about two blocks from the White House, minding my own business. Suddenly a stampede of reporters swept me up and carried me inside to a huge reception. Glancing about, I noticed that there were two kinds of press in attendance—the White House corps, now covering the vice president's every move, and the free-load corps, which never misses any chance to eat and drink on somebody else.

I quickly learned that the publishing firm of Grosset & Dunlap was paying for the canapes and champagne in an effort to promote a new photograph book showing highlights in the life of Hubert Humphrey.

In fact, as I entered, several young ladies tried to *sell* me a book! I railed at them, pointing out that reporters do not *buy* books. We are *given* books for review purposes. (They made me so angry, I've decided not to mention the name of the book.)

Several correspondents in the room confessed they had been flown from New York to Washington along with the vice president in his official plane. It must be nice for a publisher to have use of a government plane for promotional trips.

Then the bright lights came up, the television crews became active and there was Hubert Humphrey, himself, in living color. He walked through the admiring crowd and onto a platform, decorated with the usual microphones and flags. He held aloft a copy of the photo-biography of himself.

"I'm really thrilled about this book," he said, "I really am. Here's a photo of me as a schoolboy. I used to pick up those books you see there and carry them to school."

Hubert continued: "Oh, and here's a picture of our drugstore." (The reporter next to Maclean began to yawn.) "And look, here I am when I was mayor of Minneapolis . . . and then here's a picture of me." (Girl reporter nearby said Hubert reminded her of her uncle, showing home movies of his vacation.) Within a few minutes I was back out on the sidewalk. Inside, Mr. Humphrey stayed with his monologue. I decided to go home and look through the family photo album. Maybe I would find something there for Grosset & Dunlap.

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BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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DEATH OF THE DOLLAR by William F. Rickenbacker (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 159 pages, $4.95)

"A senior editor of **National Review**, William F. Rickenbacker has written a chilling account of the coming death of the dollar, rounded out with some advice on how to salvage one's capital against the further inflation and consequent deflation and depression he foresees."—From **Barron's**

HERBERT HOOVER: A Challenge for Today by Carol Green Wilson (Evans Publishing Co., 338 pages, $7.95)

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—By Rosalie Gordon in **America's Future**

THE VIETNAM DILEMMA by Rev. Daniel Lyons (Twin Circle Publishing Co., Inc., 1776 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019; 48 pages; 35¢; Order directly from publisher)

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Dyslexia: Real Problem Or Convenient Excuse?

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

With a certain hopelessness I've been waiting for somebody with expertise to tee off on "progressive" education's latest excuse for poor reading: dyslexia. In case you're not up on our current jargon, dyslexia is the tendency of certain children to see letters in reverse. Obviously, it would nicely explain inability to read, and equally obviously this makes it alluringly attractive to "look-say" reading teachers who are compelled now and then to explain why their pupils can't read.

To ward off a Niagara of letters from furious parents of dyslexic children, let me hasten to state that I do indeed believe in dyslexia. During my 28 years in education, I have known precisely one case. But of late, as reading difficulties have burgeoned despite our gloriously "modern" teaching methods, lo! the learned estimate of persons affected by dyslexia has grown enormously, from practically none a few years back to as high as 30 per cent of the population today.

Fiddle-faddle.

Dyslexia neatly fits education's classic definition of the perfect alibi: it's scientific-sounding, it's mysterious and it's something the teacher can't be expected to do much about.

I've been somewhat caustic about this latest entry in education's growing stable of ringers in the race to justify poor reading, but every time I've sounded off about it I've been snowed under by a barrage of protests which accuse me of everything from child abuse to ignorance of professional research.

Now at last help has arrived. Fellow education writer Jack McCurdy of the Los Angeles *Times* reports the following statement by one of the nation's leading authorities: "I have yet to meet what is described as the classic dyslexic. My experiments with thousands of children have never brought me to the conclusion that dyslexia explained anything or clarified anything or offered any corrective program."

Our authority? Dr. Melvin Howards, director of Northwestern University's Center for Educational Development. And he's "furious" as a result of the "unscientific, biased and inaccurate" diagnoses of so-called dyslexic children.

Welcome to our small but select group of angry educators, Dr. Howards. When we succeed in getting a majority of America's teachers equally furious about the tragic waste of teacher time, public tax money, and pupils' lives which is bound up inextricably with our present method of teaching reading, then maybe those of us who have been getting Excedrin headaches banging our skulls against the stone wall of professional stubbornness can take a much-needed vacation.

Here append a few drops of medicine, fellow reading teachers, bitter perhaps but kindly meant, I do assure you:

It isn't dyslexia which afflicts your little non-reader, unless he's literally one in a million.

It isn't that he lives either in a slum or a palace.

It isn't because he has a low IQ. Anyone above the imbecile level can be taught to read.

It isn't the books you're using, nor the flash cards, nor the fact that your school doesn't employ a psychometrist.

Your pupils aren't reading properly because you're not teaching them properly how to read. You're repeating parrot-like the tired old rationalizations you learned in your teacher college training classes about "the need for a multiple approach to reading," the necessity for "meeting individual pupil needs" and the rest of the shibboleths and slogans which multiply like rabbits.

Teach your pupils the letters of the alphabet.

Then teach them the sounds of those letters.

Then teach them to combine those sounds into syllables.

Then teach them to sound out whole words from the printed page.

They'll read, all right. That's the way every generation of Americans since Jamestown Colony learned how to read, right up to our own time. Those other generations didn't do too badly, either. In the little old red schoolhouse, at least, the non-reader was unknown.

And just leave dyslexia to the experts. You may teach on and on, clear to the golden days of retirement, and never see a true case.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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Double Standard

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Nixon sought to be a statesman, but the more he maintained a lofty tone, the more he was charged with waging a patsy campaign. At Cincinnati he took a new tack. He began to "sock it to 'em." And at once the chorus arose to chant its disapproval.

The Republicans worked up a mystifying TV commercial, intended to contrast Humphrey's "politics of joy" with some of the bleeding miseries of our time. Technically speaking, it was a poor job; most viewers must have been more puzzled than persuaded. Yet the old Nixon-haters of the liberal left raised howls of anguish and ran off to their letterhead committees crying foul. These were the same high-minded characters who four years ago conceived the little girl in the daisy field, about to be blown to bits by Goldwater's atom bomb.

By contrast with Humphrey, Nixon has been a model of parliamentary conduct. About the worst Nixon has said of the vice president is that Humphrey has the loosest tongue in the land. The charge contains a kernel of truth. Meanwhile, Humphrey has referred to Nixon as Richard the Chicken-hearted, Fearless Fosdick, and Richard Miltown Nixon; he has described him as a wiggler, a wobbler, a coward, a cold warrior and a slippery demagogue; he has linked Nixon with vigilantes, racists, extremists, reactionaries; he has compared him to Adolf Hitler threatening Britain after Dunkirk. He has said of Nixon that there is no truth in him; that he has waged a perfumed, deodorized and detergentized campaign; that no man in political life has had his face lifted so often.

If Nixon had addressed such compliments to Humphrey, the roof would have fallen in upon him. In Humphrey's case, the abuse is viewed as good clean fun.

(Copyright 1968, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Apparently the Post Office, headed by part-time Postmaster Gen. Larry O'Brien (left), is going after Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) because of the latter's role in the defeat of the Abe Fortas nomination.

Griffin Finds Out Cost Of Bucking Lyndon Johnson

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich), a fast-rising figure on the national scene, recently discovered the penalties of leading a fight against President Johnson.

The Post Office Department, at the suggestion of Larry O'Brien, former postmaster general, and the campaign coordinator for Hubert Humphrey, Democratic candidate for President, dug into its old files and resurrected a two-year-old complaint against Griffin's use of the franking privilege. Word of this action was promptly leaked to Michigan newspapers.

Griffin was doubly marked for political harassment. He had incurred the President's ire by his prominent role in blocking the nomination of Abe Fortas to be chief justice of the United States. He also represents a state where Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate, are running neck and neck.

Any derogation of Griffin thus would serve a twofold purpose—reprisal for his anti-Fortas battle and embarrassment of an influential Nixon supporter in a state where a few votes will decide the presidential contest.

The franking or postage-free privilege is used by almost all members of Congress to mail so-called news letters to their constituents. They report to the folks back home on their activities, on congressional legislation, etc.

Soon after he came to the Senate in May 1966, Griffin sent to his constituents a four-page report labeled "Bob Griffin Reports from Washington." It discussed congressional action on crime, employment and national strikes.

On the last page, as a sort of informal postscript, Griffin noted that his wife, Marge, had been surprised to read Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's "slip, slide and duck" answer when asked how to reply to questions about inflation. This quotation, first revealed to the public by Aldo Beckman of the Chicago *Tribune*'s Washington bureau, is now famous as a sample of unwitting political candor.

On Oct. 19, 1966, Griffin received a letter from Harvey H. Hannah, acting general counsel of the Post Office Department, stating that "an inquiry" had been made concerning the propriety of including the Freeman quotation in mail sent out under the congressional franking privilege.

This appeared to be political rather than official comment, Hannah argued, and therefore should not be included in matter mailed free. Griffin promptly replied that the Freeman quotation had been taken from the *Congressional Record* and was therefore privileged. The law specifically states that the *Congressional Record* or any part thereof may be sent under franked mail.

The Post Office Department conceded this point, but objected to the reference to Mrs. Griffin and an accompanying picture of her. This was clearly political, it argued.

Ten months later, in August 1967, the point was revived. But Griffin wrote O'Brien, then postmaster general, enclosing a memorandum rejecting the department's contentions and asking for its consideration. O'Brien replied in September 1967, promising to read the memorandum and to be "back in touch with you in the near future." Griffin never heard from him again.

Thirteen more months had passed when two weeks ago, aides to Humphrey on his campaign tour tipped off Michigan newsmen to "an abuse of the franking privilege by Griffin." On October 26, Adam G. Wenchel, post office counsel, called Griffin's office and said: "I've been instructed to move on that franking privilege matter. There have been many inquiries from the press."

The desired publicity having been obtained, it is safe to predict that no more will be heard of the complaint against Griffin after the November 5 election. We have now entered the eleventh-hour phase of the presidential campaign when no holds are barred in the quest of votes. If it works, anything goes.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Warning to Negotiators

If the North Vietnamese Ran Saigon

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If the U.S. were to accept a ceasefire with the North Vietnamese that lets the Viet Cong get an influential position in any post-war coalition in Saigon, do any of our more innocent New Leftists know what the consequences would be?

A report currently being passed around on State Department levels in Washington, and presumably to our negotiator Averell Harriman in Paris, could tell the innocents much if they still have the capacity to read.

The document in question is a translation of the monitored text of revolutionary leader Truong Chinh's words to his North Vietnamese comrades on the occasion of Karl Marx's 150th birthday anniversary. In its implications Truong Chinh's outline for a South Vietnamese take-over is pretty horrendous. It pays lip service to the possibility that there might be a peaceful transition to socialism in South Viet Nam once the U.S. "imperialists" are out of the country. But the hope for peace would depend entirely on the "bourgeoisie" rolling over and playing dead.

As is always the case with a convinced Marxist revolutionary, the language used by Truong Chinh bores the non-Marxist reader almost to extinction. "Dialectical" cliche is piled on cliche. But beneath the beat of the phrases about "feudal exploiters" and the "national democratic people's revolution," there sounds the ominous call to slaughter of anyone who might own more than a few hectares of land or a bank account capable of sustaining a middle-sized clothing store.

What Truong Chinh is telling the Viet Cong as well as his own North Vietnamese cadres is that there can be no peace in South Viet Nam on a basis that would permit a "bourgeois" state apparatus to consolidate itself.

Listen to him:

"We should absolutely not unconstrainedly entertain any illusion about peaceful transition. . .our party has asserted that the revolutionary violence is the only correct way to overthrow the enemy. . .the immediate task of the working class, after winning power, is very heavy: repress all opposition of the exploiting classes; crush all capitalist plots. . .rely on. . .arming the masses. . .and not on such and such theories about legality and peaceful methods."

It is always "crush, crush" and "repress, repress" in Truong Chinh's report. But there is nevertheless an undertone of defeatism in what Truong Chinh told his North Vietnamese comrades. After praising Ho Chi Minh's party for what it had achieved in North Viet Nam, he lets slip the information that all is not well behind his own lines.

He says that "in the northern part of our country, the struggle between the Socialist path and the capitalist path is still going on to definitely determine who will defeat whom. This is a protracted, hard and complicated struggle." Translated into non-"dialectical" prose, this means that the North Vietnamese are not themselves united behind Ho Chi Minh. If they were, there would be no need to speak of a struggle "to definitely determine who will defeat whom."

Truong Chinh's words, calling for a prolonged effort to "reform old-generation intellectuals and form a new class of intellectuals from among the agricultural and industrial classes and make them absolutely faithful to socialism," indicate that the job of forcing the North Vietnamese into a Communist mold is far from completed. The need to compel "absolute" fidelity to a doctrine hides a recognition that black marketeers are at work, and that "small traders," who must be "resolutely educated" and brought into "service cells," have been doing something more than reading the works of Marx, Engels and Mao Tse-tung.

It would be a pity if our negotiator, Averell Harriman, were to ignore either one of the two sides to Truong Chinh's report to his comrades in Hanoi. On the one hand, the North Vietnamese are still insisting that a peace must not impede the Viet Cong's "leadership of the national democratic people's revolution," a "right" that "must absolutely not be allowed to fall into the hands of the national bourgeois class." On the other hand, North Viet Nam is leading at the peace talks from weakness, not from strength either on the battlefield or on the home front.

Why should the U.S. give up the struggle to save the day for the South Vietnamese when we actually have Ho Chi Minh's "cadres" over a barrel? Must we sell out at this point merely because our own government is on the point of changing? If we do, we will be the biggest fools that history has ever known.

(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

Continued from page 1

Clifford Distorts Nuclear Story

tegic bomber fleet, which is why we have only 646 today.

Clifford's figures about Soviet bombers are wrong. The House Armed Services Committee reported in July 1967: "The Soviet Union has the numerically largest strategic bomber force in the world today. This is because the USSR has retained its air-refuelable medium bombers (900 Badgers and Blinders) while the United States has scrapped a large force of over 1,000 B-47s. Thus the Soviets now have 1,110 strategic bombers versus 680 United States strategic bombers."

Clifford also neglected to tell the American people that our Joint Chiefs of Staff admitted that "The USSR is ahead of the United States . . . in the yield/weight ratio of high-yield devices" (Aug. 15, 1963). Therefore, even considering the larger payload of our strategic bomber fleet, the megatonnage the U.S. and Soviet fleets could deliver would be about the same.

Let us compare the total U.S. and Soviet strategic delivery vehicles. The U.S. has 1,054 ICBMs, 656 SLBMs, and 646 strategic bombers, for a total of 2,345 strategic delivery vehicles. The Soviets have 1,100 ICBMs, 750 IRBMs, 320 SLBMs, and 1,100 strategic bombers, for a total of 3,270 strategic delivery vehicles. This is the real survival gap which has been caused by the LBJ-HHH Administration.

History tells us that Nero fiddled while Rome burned. The fact is that the present Administration fiddled while the Soviets have been building nuclear weapons capable of burning the United States to destruction. In Adm. Rickover's words, "study things to death" has been the tactic which has stalled and delayed weapon after weapon.

Every nuclear weapon which protects America today was built or ordered by the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. No new nuclear weapon has been developed by the present Administration except the TFX plane, now known as "the flying Edsel." The TFX was the largest government contract in the history of federal spending. When Sen. McClellan's committee tried to expose its waste and fraud, Sen. Muskie fronted for the Administration to cover up the blunders. As a result, six years of precious time have been lost, 10 TFX planes have crashed, the Navy version had to be canceled as a complete flop, and our nation still lacks a new fighter bomber.

On July 30 Vice President Hubert Humphrey admitted under questioning in San Francisco that the U.S. has "not a single weapon system that can protect us from annihilation." This is the result of eight years of the present Administration.

When the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration went out of office, the U.S. had a more than 5-to-1 superiority over the Soviets in megatonnage delivery capability. This is why no American boy was dying in any foreign war. We must reject the present Administration's false doctrine of nuclear parity with the Soviets, and restore the military superiority of America so that we shall be safe from all aggressors.

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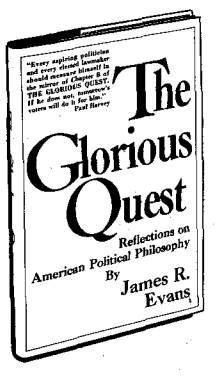

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Preventing Strikes by Public Employes

By HENRY HAZLITT

Strikes of public employes ought to be prohibited. Scores of laws, state and federal, already prohibit such strikes. Yet the recent threats and strikes in New York City by teachers, firemen and policemen show how completely ineffective some of these laws can be.

In New York the explanation is the spinelessness of Mayor John Lindsay combined with a badly conceived law.

New York state swung from a law with mandatory penalties so drastic that nobody dared to enforce it, to a law so soft and toothless that nobody knows how to enforce it.

The old Condon-Wadlin Act made dismissal of striking public employes compulsory. It provided that even if rehired they should get no pay increase for three years. When New York City's transit workers struck on Jan. 1, 1966, neither the mayor nor the Transit Authority nor the courts had the courage to enforce the law. A disastrous strike paralyzed the city's transportation for 12 days. After the strikers were handsomely rewarded for their defiance of the law by an unprecedented wage increase, the New York State Legislature passed a bill retroactively exempting the striking transit workers from the penalties of the Condon-Wadlin Act.

Then the legislature replaced the Condon-Wadlin Act, as of Sept. 1, 1967, by the Taylor Act, drawn up by reputed labor relations "experts." In open defiance of the new law the New York City teachers' union struck almost immediately. They rejected a two-year, $125-million salary increase recommended by the mayor's mediation panel, stayed out 14 days and were then further rewarded by a $10 to $31-million increase over the panel's original package.

Early this year New York City's garbage men struck, also in defiance of the new law. After a great deal of complicated buck-passing between the mayor, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and arbitrators, the garbage men were rewarded for their strike by getting practically everything they struck for.

So now all city unions treat the Taylor Law with open contempt.

Let us try to see what a satisfactory law, not only for New York but for every state, should provide.

It should, of course, prohibit strikes of public employes, as most laws actually do, but it should provide effective penalties.

While the right to strike is an inherent part of the collective bargaining process in private industry, public employes have a different set of obligations to the community. Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, walks in a picket line during last fall's New York City strike.

It should certainly prohibit mass picketing, if not all picketing, by public employes.

Recognizing the principle of freedom of association, it should not prohibit the formation of unions. But neither should it put a mayor, as the Taylor Act absurdly does, under any legal obligation to recognize or bargain with any union of public employes. Still less should it oblige a city government, as the Taylor Law also does, to check off union dues. A mayor may decide to negotiate with a union as a matter of good relations, but should never have to do so as a legal obligation.

To be respected and obeyed, a no-strike law should offer public officials and the courts a wide range of discretionary enforcement penalties. They should have the following options or combinations of options to choose from: specified fines levied on union treasuries, or personally on union leaders, or on individual strikers; jail terms for defiant strike leaders; loss of vacation privileges, pension rights or seniority for strikers, and, finally, outright dismissal of strikers.

Perhaps it would be even better for the law to provide that any striking employe would automatically be considered as having quit his job and would have to apply individually for reinstatement. In any case a mayor should have an unequivocal right to replace strikers by offering immediate temporary or even permanent jobs to qualified applicants.

No anti-strike law can supply spines for spineless public officials, but it can be drawn to give flexible yet adequate enforcement powers to officials and courts with the backbone to use them.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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GUESS THE SPEAKER—"Guess who spoke these rough but true words: 'But as a whole, the Administration's domestic policies have become almost as complete a failure as its foreign policies. . . . It has attempted to impose New Deal solutions to many problems that did not even exist in New Deal days. The end result is that this nation's people are almost totally frustrated.' This would be a strong evaluation of the Administration from any public figure of the opposition party. It is doubly so coming from California Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, a Democrat."—From the San Diego *Union*

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BATTLESHIP TO SWAT FLIES?—"When something is hit with a 16-inch shell from the battleship *U.S.S. New Jersey*, it has certainly been hit. But as the great ship went into action on September 30 for the first time in 15 years, there was still question about two things. 1. Was the potential under current conditions worth the expense of demothballing the battleship? 2. Was the *New Jersey* aimed at the right targets? The big guns destroyed some Red positions, including artillery emplacements and trenches, in Viet Nam. But do you commission a battleship to do such menial work? The big guns were not aimed at the Red Vietnamese port of Haiphong, where it might have done some real good. Lacking sound military strategy direction, the *New Jersey* can only provide a rather expensive show. A 16-inch gun ought not to be used as a fly swatter."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

New York City's garbage strike earlier this year was but one of a series of labor disturbances that have plagued Mayor Lindsay's "Fun City."

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Dr. Lazo's Important New Book

Why American Policy Failed in Cuba

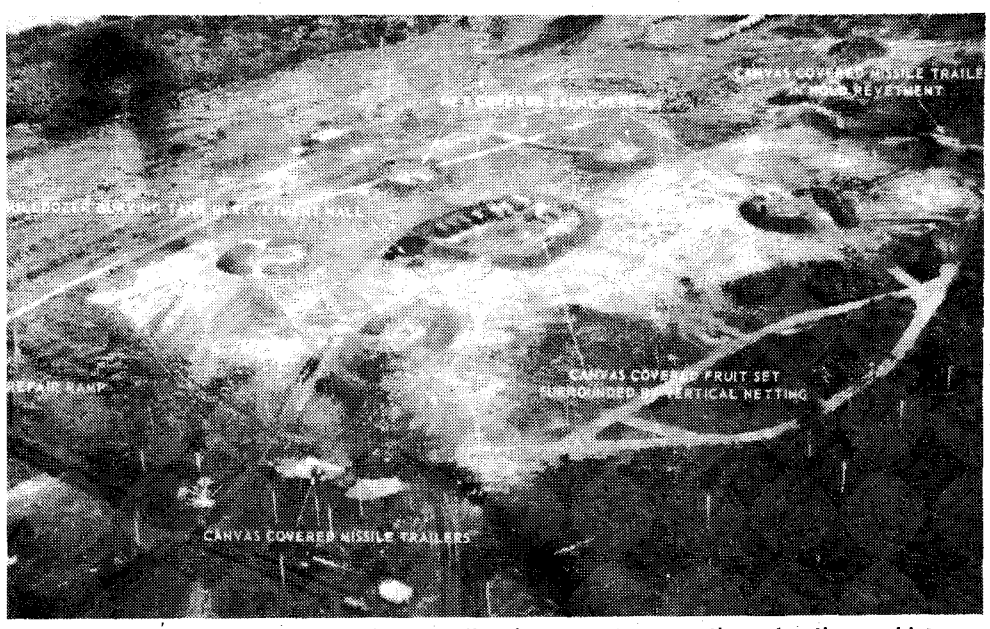
By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

On Oct. 22, 1962, President Kennedy made his celebrated report to the American people on the Soviet nuclear build-up in Cuba.

Among the millions who heard him were Dr. and Mrs. Mario Lazo. It was of special interest to them, for they were two Cuban exiles, in temporary refuge in the home of American friends in Madrid. They had escaped from Cuba in May 1961. Dr. Lazo had been sentenced to death by Castro, and his wife managed his release by a ruse.

The Lazos have since settled in the United States and this former international lawyer has written a book, *Dagger in the Heart* (Funk &Wagnalls).

The book is no ordinary book and Dr. Lazo is not an ordinary man. For seven years he conducted an expensive, painstaking investigation to find out why and how American policy failed so completely in Cuba that Castro was able to set up a Communist regime 90 miles from Florida. In his book he pinpoints the blame for Castro's rise to power when, in fact, there were several democratic alternatives available. His detailed information on the Bay of Pigs disaster challenges accepted official versions.



During the Cuban missile crisis, the offensive weapons were there for the world to see, thanks to U.S. reconnaissance. But the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations failed to follow up, hence Castro remains in power to this day.

Dagger in the Heart is a complete refutation of the whitewashers' contention that "the Castro regime is a thorn in the flesh, but it is not a dagger in the heart." This appraisal was made in a memorandum to President Kennedy by Sen. J. William Fulbright on March 30, 1961, even while events were moving in Cuba to confound the wishful thinkers in Washington.

At the time the Arkansas senator, who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was giving the President his views, Lazo was serving, without charge, as attorney for anyone whose life was in the hands of the Revolutionary Courts in Cuba. And, indeed, his own arrest and execution order came while his legal staff was working to save Howard Anderson, a respected member of the American community in Havana, director of the American Chamber of Commerce, and commander of the only American Legion Post in Cuba. On the very day that Lazo was so providentially saved, he learned that Anderson had been executed at dawn.

The results of Dr. Lazo's seven years of research are the alarming, dramatic, revealing and wholly credible material of this book. He uncovers a veritable network of misinformation and manipulation which is as frightening as it is fascinating to read.

Lazo is a man of two countries. Born in a Latin-American embassy in Washington in 1895, he lived in the United States the first 29 years of his life. He was educated here, graduating from Cornell in 1915, and served as a captain in the United States Army on the Mexican border and in World War I before returning to Cornell to take a law degree. Subsequently, he took another degree at the University of Havana and began law practice there about 1925.

In the ensuing 36 years he became the best-known international lawyer in Cuba, representing virtually all the important American industries and businesses there. His reputation for scrupulous honesty and fair dealing was recognized with an extraordinary tribute recently.

When news of his forthcoming book appeared in the press, the publishers began receiving unsolicited contributions toward its promotion. The money, mostly $1 and $5 bills, came from Cubans living in the United States. Few of them knew him; all of them trusted him to tell the truth. Cubans who have lost their country, but not their faith, rallied round the author.

(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

Would His 'New Left' Admirers Really Like Life Under Castro?

One way in which the New Left is identical to the Old Left is its delectably ironic championing of governments which would never tolerate the political conditions which have in the United States permitted the rise of the Old and New Left in the first place. Just as their left-of-center elders looked fondly on Soviet Russia, where political dissent is outlawed, so today's young radicals look kindly on Cuba, proudly displaying Che Guevara wall posters and making annual pilgrimages to sit at the feet of their beloved Fidel.

But Cuba, it seems, is having troubles of its own with youthful rebels. And what has been the response of Beloved Fidel? To denounce them in terms that would do George Wallace proud, that's what.

First word of the trouble caused by the Cuban youth came with a Castro speech late in September. The long-haired, hippie-style youths, said Castro, had been roaming the streets of Havana, disrupting state services, burning Cuban flags and destroying the portraits of Che which dominate the city's building walls. According to Castro, the youths had been influenced by Czechoslovakia's so-called "liberalism" and wanted to transform Havana into a "revised version of Prague."

Apparently Castro's admonition for the youths to cease and desist were ineffectual. Shortly thereafter an article appeared in the Cuban Youth Communist League publication, *Juventud Rebelde*, condemning the new brand of rebels and providing a glimpse of their background.

Most of the youths, the publication reported, had previously been supporters of the Castro revolution, but had decided to "drop out." Then the young rebels who "never worked or studied and in many cases [were] children of indolent parents" began "creating a world very different from that which our people are building." They also adopted a slogan, "Do what you want, anyway you want, whatever you want—do it now," sort of a verbose Latinate version of our own "do your own thing."

Next, *Juventud Rebelde* charged, the rebels were joined by the inevitable "counter-revolutionary elements" who prompted them to "perform the most unusual actions," such as "the incredible desecration of the national flag and the pictures of our Che." But nothing seemed to faze the drop-outs from Castroism.

In mid-October, Havana radio commentator Guido Garcia Inclan, an intimate associate of Castro, announced that "in spite of the roundup at La Rampa, and even though many shaggy ones have been shaved or sent to Camaguey, things remain the same." La Rampa is the Havana section where the rebels had been congregating, and Camaguey is the province where most of the prison camps for political unreliables are located—i.e., the Cuban Siberia.

Sr. Garcia continued to denounce the "shaggy, bead-necklaced and unbathed" youths, maintaining they had been "debauched by the Beatles and those who are not Beatles, perhaps encouraged by propaganda from over there and the epileptic music, which is also perversion." One can imagine the reaction in this country if Lyndon Johnson ever made such a statement.

So the next time members of the New Left sing the praises of Fidel, Che and the Cuban Revolution, they might do well to check first with members of their peer group on the island. And then, looking carefully at their dress, coiffure and demeanor in the nearest mirror, think how long they would last like that on the streets of Havana.

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